



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

NOTES ON THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

BY GEORGE W. ROBINSON

THE LIBRARIAN OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE

JULIAN, *Epistola ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem*, p. 277 B, C.:
μόλις ἡδυνήθην οἰκέτας ἑμαυτοῦ τέτταρας, παιδάρια μὲν δύο κομιδῇ
μικρά, δύο δὲ μείζονας, εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν οἰκειότερόν με θεραπεύσοντας εἰσα-
γαγεῖν, ὧν εἰς μοι μόνος καὶ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς συνειδῶς καὶ ὡς ἐνεδέχετο λάθρα
συμπράττων· ἐπεπίστευτο δὲ τῶν βιβλίων μου τὴν φυλακὴν, ὧν μόνος τῶν
ἐμοὶ πολλῶν ἑταίρων καὶ φίλων πιστῶν, εἰς ἱατρός, ὃς καί, ὅτι φίλος ὧν
ἐλελήθει, συναπεδήμησεν.

English translation by Wilmer Cave Wright, ii (London, 1913), p. 265: "Only with difficulty was I able to bring with me to court four of my own domestics for my personal service, two of them mere boys and two older men, of whom only one knew of my attitude to the gods, and, as far as he was able, secretly joined me in their worship. I had entrusted with the care of my books, since he was the only one with me of many loyal comrades and friends, a certain physician who had been allowed to leave home with me because it was not known that he was my friend."

Εἷς and εἰς are correlatives, and mean "the one . . . the one," or, as we should commonly say in English, "the one . . . the other." There is no warrant for translating the second εἷς by "a certain," or any, except wrong precedent, for supposing that any of the words which precede go with it rather than with the first εἷς. We may then restore the sense of the passage by rendering ". . . of whom only one knew of my attitude to the gods, and, so far as was possible, secretly joined me in their worship. I had entrusted him with the care of my books, since he was the only one with me of many loyal comrades and friends.¹ The other was a physician, who," etc.

¹ The awkwardness of the vulgate Greek text at this point is very evident.
(1) As it stands, we must supply some such idea as "with me" in order to make

A comparison with Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum*, pp. 54,¹ 104,² makes it clear that the two men were Evemerus the African, and Oribasius of Pergamum, the celebrated physician.

Dionysius Petavius,³ who first edited and translated into Latin the Letter to the Athenians, divides the sentence justly between the librarian and the physician.⁴ His Latin version, based in part on the conjectural emendation πιστός for πιστών, is retained in Ezekiel Spanheim's folio edition of 1696, though the emendation disappears.⁵ Petavius names Oribasius as the physician.⁶ In this he has been followed without question by succeeding scholars, including Mrs. Wright.⁷

The indefatigable Tillemont was the first, so far as I have noted, to suggest the identification of the librarian as Evemerus;⁸ which has, I think, never since been disputed, until the appearance of Mrs. Wright's translation. Certainly it has been accepted by de la Bletterie,⁹ Duncombe,¹⁰ and Gaetano Negri.¹¹

I have spoken of the wrong precedent that may have helped to mislead Mrs. Wright. There is a principle which, for want of a

sense. (2) πιστών must be used either in an active or in a passive sense. It must mean either 'loyal' or 'trusted.' In the former case there is a contradiction of what follows: the physician was loyal. In the latter case there is a contradiction of what precedes, since it is expressly stated that the librarian was Julian's only confidant. All these difficulties are avoided if, following Petavius, we read πιστός for πιστών: "since he was my only confidant among my many comrades and friends."

¹ *Vita Maximi*: Ταῦτα δὲ συνήδεσαν Ὀρειβάσιος ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου, καὶ τις τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἣν Ἀφρικὴν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὸ πάτριον τῆς γλώττης, Εὐήμερος. The reference is to a somewhat later period, when Oribasius also had been admitted to the secret.

² *Vita Oribasii*: Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα προῶν συνήρπασεν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ.

³ Denis Petau (1583-1652).

⁴ Julian, *Opera* (Parisii, 1630), i, p. 509.

⁵ Julian, *Opera* (Lipsiae, 1696), p. 277.

⁶ Ed. of 1630, ii, p. 416.

⁷ Julian, ii, p. 265, n. 2.

⁸ *Histoire des Empereurs*, iv (Brussels, 1732), p. 204.

⁹ *Vie de l'Empereur Julien* (Paris, 1746), p. 91.

¹⁰ John Duncombe, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, translated from the Greek, with Notes (London, 1798), i, p. 78.

¹¹ *L'Imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata* (2d ed., Milan, 1902), pp. 50, n. 1, 72.

better term, may be called the historiographic force of gravitation, which attracts, to the more important or more conspicuous historic character, material that properly belongs to his obscurer neighbor. Now Oribasius is a comparatively well-known personage; we have his biography, written by Eunapius,¹ and considerable remains of his writings have survived.² Evemerus, on the other hand, is known only from this passage, in which his name does not occur, and the few lines in Eunapius.³ Accordingly, though the French version of Tourlet follows Petavius strictly,⁴ we are not surprised to find Duncombe in his English version transferring the *ὦν μόνος* clause from Evemerus to Oribasius.⁵ Negri does the same in his Italian translation of the passage.⁶ It is perhaps no more than natural that Mrs. Wright, yielding a little more unreservedly to the same force, should take even the care of the books away from the librarian and assign it to the physician: making quite complete the victory of the latter, who is in Julian's original narrative much the less conspicuous of the two; and driving the former to the inmost recesses of the sentence, to potter furtively among his incense jars.

It is curious to note that this force of gravitation, elsewhere so injurious to Evemerus, actually has worked in his favor in the English translation of Negri's *Julian* by the Duchess Litta-Visconti-Arese.⁷ Negri refers twice to Evemerus, terming him on the one

¹ In the *Vitae Sophistarum*.

² The edition by Bussemaker and Daremberg (Paris, 1851-76, 6 vols.) occupies nearly half a library shelf.

³ He is left unmentioned in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, and even in the latest edition of Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

⁴ R. Tourlet, *Oeuvres Complètes de l'Empereur Julien, traduites du Grec en Français* (Paris, 1821), ii, p. 257.

⁵ Duncombe, i, p. 78: "The other, who of my many friends and companions alone was faithful was my physician." In his note Duncombe lightly brushes aside the authority of Petavius, whose knowledge of Greek was to his own as the forest to a bundle of fagots. "The elogium of 'singular fidelity' is applied by the Latin translator to the librarian. The original, I think, warrants my applying it, as is more probable, to the physician."

⁶ *L'Imperatore Giuliano* (2d ed.), p. 50.

⁷ *Julian the Apostate* (New York, 1905).

occasion, "il servo fedele,"¹ on the other, "il fido Evemero";² and the translator has been unconsciously influenced to use his name also in a third place, where she renders "Ma Giuliano lo seppe prevenire, mandando a Milano il suo fidato Euterio,"³ by "But Julian, foreseeing this, sent to Milan his faithful Evemerus."⁴

AUSONIUS AND ARISTIPPUS

Ausonius, *De Herediolo*, vv. 11-14:

Ex animo rem stare aequum puto, non animum ex re.
Cuncta cupit Croesus, Diogenes nihilum:
Spargit Aristippus mediis in Syrtibus aurum,
Aurea non satis est Lydia tota Midæ.

Schenkl⁵ *ad loc.*, and Peiper,⁶ under *Auctores et Imitatores*, both refer to Horace, *Satiræ*, ii, 3, vv. 99-102:⁷

Quid simile isti
Graecus Aristippus? Qui servos proicere aurum
In media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent,
Propter onus segnes.

In this they merely follow the note of Souchay in the Delphine edition,⁸ who adds, "quem locum imitatus est hic Ausonius, pro media Libya, medias Syrtes ponens, quæ sunt duo Africae sinus arenosi."

It is, however, unnecessary to accuse Ausonius of poetic license here; since, as a matter of fact, there are two distinct anecdotes related concerning Aristippus and his disregard for gold, and of these Horace has in mind the one, Ausonius the other. The two stories are given by Diogenes Laertius in his Life of Aristippus,⁹

¹ *Giuliano*, p. 50, n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 56. This is from Ammianus, xvi, 7, 2: "Ideoque cum discederet [Marcellus], Eutheries praepositus cubiculi mittitur statim post eum siquid finxerit convicturus."

⁴ *Julian the Apostate*, p. 67.

⁵ Berolini, 1883. In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Auctores Antiquissimi, v, 2.

⁶ Lipsiae, 1886.

⁷ They quote the passage only in part.

⁸ Parisiis, 1730.

⁹ *Vitæ Philosophorum*, ii, 77.

as follows: τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν ὁδῷ βαστάζοντος ἀργύριον, καὶ βαρυνόμενον (ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βίωνα ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς), Ἀπόχεε, ἔφη, τὸ πλεόν, καὶ ὅσον δύνασαι βάσταζε. So far, the Horatian anecdote. Now the Ausonian: πλέων ποτέ ἐπεὶ τὸ σκάφος ἔγνω πειρατικόν, λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον ἠρίθμει· ἔπειτα εἰς θάλατταν ὡς μὴ θέλων παρακατέβαλε, καὶ δῆθεν ἀνῶμωξεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπειπεῖν φασιν αὐτόν, 'Ὡς ἄμεινον ταῦτα ὑπ' Ἀριστίππου, ἢ διὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστιππον ἀπολέσθαι. Suidas¹ likewise relates both anecdotes, the second in the following form: ἐπιβουλεύόμενος δὲ ἐν πλῶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐπῆγετο, εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέβαλεν αὐτά. Ἡ γὰρ τούτων, ἔφη, ἀπώλεια ἐμοὶ σωτηρία. It will be noted that in each case the Latin poet has localized the event to which he has referred. This is presumably to be explained by his knowledge of details that have not been otherwise preserved. In any case the mention of Libya and the Syrtes is most natural in the case of Aristippus, who was a Cyrenean.

Elias Vinetus,² in his note on the passage, quotes both Diogenes Laertius and Horace. He overlooks, however, the fact that two distinct anecdotes are involved, and says, "Videtur ergo Horatium imitatus Ausonius, et pro media Lybia, medias Syrtes dixisse." Tollius in his edition³ quotes the note of Vinetus entire. Souchay, attempting to condense, preserves Vinetus's mistake with the unerring instinct of his type, but omits the passage of Diogenes Laertius, from which any reader might at a glance have rectified the error for himself. Schenkl and Peiper blindly follow Souchay.

ANNONA GALLICA

Claudian, *In Eutropium*, i, vv. 401-409 (Rome speaks to Honorius):

Quae suscepta fames, quantum discriminis urbi,
Ni tua vel soceri numquam non provida virtus
Austrolem Arctoïs pensasset frugibus annum.
Invectae Rhodani Tiberina per ostia classes
Cinyphisque ferax Araris successit aristis.
Teutonicus vomer Pyrenaeique iuvenci
Sudavere mihi; segetes mirantur Hiberas
Horrea; nec Libyae senserunt damna rebellis
Iam transalpina contenti messe Quirites.

¹ S. v. Ἀρίστιππος.

² Burdigalae, 1575.

³ Amstelodami, 1671.

Idem, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, ii, vv. 390-396 (The same speaks to Stilicho):

Splendida suscipiant alium te rostra Camillum,
 Ultorem videant servatoremque Quirites,
 Et populus, quem ductor ames: quibus Africa per te
 Nec prius auditas Rhodanus iam donat aristas,
 Ut mihi vel Massyla Ceres, vel Gallica prosit
 Fertilitas, messesque vehat nunc umidus Auster,
 Nunc Aquilo: cunctis ditescant horrea ventis.

Idem, *ibid.*, iii, vv. 89-98:

Nil perdit decoris prisci nec libera quaerit
 Saecula, cum donet fasces, cum proelia mandet;
 Seque etiam crevisse videt. Quis Gallica rura,
 Quis meminit Latio Senonum servisse ligones?
 Aut quibus exemplis fecunda Thybris ab Arcto
 Vexit Lingonico sudatas vomere messes?
 Illa seges non auxilium modo praebeuit urbi,
 Sed fuit indicio, quantum tibi, Roma, liceret;
 Admonuit dominae gentes instarque tropaei
 Rettulit ignotum gelidis vectigal ab oris.

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistolae*, vi, 12 (to Patiens, bishop of Lyons):
 . . . post Gothicam depopulationem, post segetes incendio absumptas, peculiari sumptu inopiae communi per desolatas Gallias gratuita frumenta misisti, cum tabescentibus fame populis nimium contulisses, si commercio fuisset species ista, non muneri. Vidimus angustas tuis frugibus vias; vidimus per Araris et Rhodani ripas non unum, quod unus impleveras, horreum. (*Mention is made of Triptolemus and his two grain ships.*) Tu, ut de mediterranea taceam largitate, victum civitatibus Tyrrheni maris erogaturus granariis tuis duo potius flumina quam duo navigia complesti. . . . Quapropter, etsi ad integrum conicere non possum, quantas tibi gratias Arelatensis, Regensis, Avenniocus, Arausionensis quoque et Albensis, Valentinaeque nec non et Tricastinae urbis possessor exsolvat, quia difficile est eorum ex asse vota metiri, quibus noveris alimoniam sine asse collatam, Arverni tamen oppidi ego nomine uberes perquam gratias ago, cui ut succurrere meditarere, non te communio provinciae, non proximitas civitatis, non opportunitas fluvii, non oblatio pretii adduxit Per omnem fertur Aquitaniam gloria tua.

After the establishment of the Eastern capital at Constantinople and the diversion thither of the corn of Egypt, the city of Rome was dependent upon Africa for her grain supply.¹ The three passages from Claudian refer to the winter of 397-98, when the revolt of Gildo in Africa deprived the city of the accustomed provision, and made it necessary to seek grain from new sources.² The dependence of Rome upon Gallic corn was limited, at least for the time, to a single winter. Gildo was overthrown in the spring of 398, and Africa returned to obedience.³

The letter of Apollinaris Sidonius relates to the winter of 474-75.⁴ Auvergne,⁵ Provence,⁶ and the lower Rhone valley,⁷ reduced to famine by the depredations of the Visigoths in the previous summer,⁸ were supplied with grain through the efforts and at the expense⁹ of Patiens, bishop of Lugdunum, or Lyons.

These passages afford highly interesting evidence as to the ancient movement of Gallic grain in large quantities and for long distances. In 397-98 the districts tapped were the same that in modern times have been the centres of the French wholesale supply.¹⁰ The upper Saône valley and the districts immediately to the north¹¹ — corresponding to northern Burgundy and Bas-

¹ Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, i, vv. 60-63:

Cum subiit par Roma mihi divisaque sumpsit
Aequales Aurora togas, Aegyptia rura
In partem cessere novae. Spes unica nobis
Restabat Libyae, quae vix aegreque fovebat.

² Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*; J. H. E. Crees, *Claudian as an Historical Authority* (Cambridge, England, 1908), pp. 81-93.

³ *De Bello Gildonico*, i, v. 16:

Quem veniens indixit hiems, ver perculit hostem.

⁴ T. H. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1892), p. 488.

⁵ *Arverni oppidum*.

⁶ *Civitates Tyrrheni maris*; Arelate (Arles); Reii (Riez).

⁷ Avenio (Avignon), Arausio (Orange), Alba Augusta (Aps, in Ardèche), Valentia (Valence), Augusta Tricastinorum (Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux).

⁸ *post Gothicam depopulationem, post segetes incendio absumptas*.

⁹ *peculiari sumptu*.

¹⁰ See A. P. Usher's *History of the Grain Trade in France* (1913), with the maps (frontispiece and opposite p. 136).

¹¹ *ferax Araris*; *Teutonicus vomer* (this, if it is more than a hyperbole, refers to the Gallic province of Upper Germany, which appears to have extended west of

signy — and the Seine valley ¹ are plainly indicated. The former of these areas was utilized also in 474-75; ² as to the latter we have no indication. At both times the rivers, the Rhone and the Saône (Araris), were the great arteries of transportation.³

A comparison of these passages with Dr. Abbott Payson Usher's recent monograph, *The History of the Grain Trade in France: 1400-1710* (Cambridge, 1913), suggests the inquiry, whether the use of the Saône and Rhone for grain transportation in mediaeval times may not have been considerable. Dr. Usher's investigations in the Lyons archives show, indeed, that Lyons itself controlled no wholesale water-borne trade even in the early part of the fifteenth century.⁴ He traces at length ⁵ the slow and toilsome development of the Lyons grain trade, which, though definitely established by 1489,⁶ attained no large development, so far as Burgundy was concerned, until half a century later.⁷ Dr. Usher notes, however, that in 1527 and 1528 Burgundian grain went down the Rhone destined for Arles, for Genoa, and for the Grand Master of Rhodes,⁸ and that such shipments were not infrequent phenomena.⁹ It is, then, a question whether the important Burgundian wholesale trade of the sixteenth century may not have been as much a survival as a development.

AN INCONSISTENCY IN HISTORICAL CARTOGRAPHY

Theodoret, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, ix, 14: οὔτε γὰρ Αἰθίοπες οἱ Θηβῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὁμοτέρμονες οὔτε τὰ πάμπολλα φύλα τοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, οὐ Λαῖοί, οὐ Σάννοι, οὐκ Ἀβασγοί, οὐχ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ὅσοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀσπάζονται δεσποτεῖαν, κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιοῦνται ξυμβόλαια.

the Saône and to have included the territory of the Lingones); *Lingonico sudatas vomere messes*.

¹ *Senonum ligones*.

² *Araris ripas*.

³ In 397-98: *Rhodani classes; Rhodanus donat aristas; ferax Araris*. In 474-75: *per Araris et Rhodani ripas; duo potius flumina quam duo navigia complesti*. In 474-75 the overland carriage to Auvergne is mentioned as enhancing the difficulty of Patiens's task: *non opportunitas fluvii*. Sidonius affords no support to Dr. Hodgkin's conjecture that the Loire also was utilized.

⁴ *Grain Trade in France*, p. 127.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-179.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-144.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁹ *Ibid.*

As a link in the chain of a theological argument, the remainder of which does not now concern us, Theodoret has given this interesting, though partial, list of the client states of Rome in the fifth century. The Ethiopians of the newer Meroë, where the vast remains of the Roman period still promise inexhaustible treasures to the archaeologist; the Arabs, or Saracens, of Arabia Petraea and the desert border of Syria, whose lightly-worn allegiance at least served to counterbalance the power of those of their kinsmen who professed an equally easy fealty to the King of Kings at Ctesiphon; the Lazi, warders of the Caucasian Gates against the dreaded hordes of the steppes; the Sanni or Tzani, on the confines of Armenia and Pontus, and the Abasgi, northern neighbors of the Lazi on the Euxine coast: to these Theodoret might well have added the Roman Armenia, the cities of the Tauric Chersonese, and other possessions in various quarters.

It is unfortunate that the maps of the later Roman Empire in atlases and histories, with few and slight exceptions, disregard this important girdle of subject states, and mark as Roman only the territory included within the formal boundaries of the prefectures, dioceses, and provinces. This is not in accordance with the practice in the maps of the Republic and the early Empire, where the client states are commonly indicated with a good degree of exactitude. The inconsistency is regrettable, and is particularly calculated to give a wrong impression to the ordinary student of ancient history, who in most cases can afford to devote only a moderate amount of time to his studies in the later period.